

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 4091
EXDIS
CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: TAGS:OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: VANCE/OWEN/YOUNG MEETING WITH PIK BOTHA

1. SUMMARY: SECRETARIES VANCE AND OWEN AND AMB. YOUNG.
ACCOMPANIED BY AMERICAN AND BRITISH STAFFS, MET AT
FOREIGN MINISTER PIK BOTHA'S HOME IN PRETORIA EVENING
OF APRIL 16 FOR TALKS THAT FOCUSED MAINLY ON RHODESIA
AND NAMIBIA. WITH BOTHA WERE FOREIGN SECRETARY BRAND
FOURIE AND NEIL VAN HEERDEN, BOTHA'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT.
AS EXPECTED, BOTHA RAISED A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ABOUT
FEATURES OF THE WESTERN FIVE'S PROPOSAL. HE PROFESSED
CONCERN THAT UNLESS HE COULD GIVE CERTAIN ASSURANCES TO
THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, OR SATISFACTORILY ANSWER SOME
QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL, IT
WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
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TO ACCEPT IT. DISCUSSIONS WERE CANDID AND BUSINESSLIKE.
FOR A CHANGE, BOTHA DID NOT SUBJECT US TO USUAL DISPLAY
OF BOMBAST AND, IN GENERAL, HE DID NOT RESORT TO
EMOTIONAL RHETORIC, EXCEPT TO DESCRIBE "TERRORISM" IN
NAMIBIA AND TO STRESS THE SERIOUS POLITICAL RISKS HE
CLAIMED HE FACES IN TRYING TO SELL THE WESTERN PROPOSAL.
HIS PRINCIPAL CONCERN WAS THE SECURITY QUESTION, I.E.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES FROM NAMIBIA AND THE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES HE SAID THIS COULD HAVE FOR THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. HOLDING TO THE PROPOSAL AS IT IS WRITTEN, OWEN, VANCE AND YOUNG ADDRESSED BOTHA'S EXPRESSED CONCERNS AND AT THE SAME TIME MADE CLEAR THEIR BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER DISCUSSION OF RHODESIAN PROBLEM (SEPTTEL), OWEN BROACHED THE TOPIC OF NAMIBIA BY OBSERVING THAT IF NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT EFFORT WENT WELL, IT COULD HAVE POSITIVE EFFECT ON RHODESIAN SITUATION AND ON UK AND US BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL. BOTHA SAID THERE HAD BEEN MOVEMENT IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION ON NAMIBIA, BUT HE FEARED IT "WAS SLIPPING AWAY". HE THEN PROCEEDED TO POINT OUT PROBLEMS THE SAG HAS WITH THE WESTERN FIVE'S PROPOSAL.

3. BOTHA BEGAN WITH THE ISSUE WHICH OATER BOTH HE AND VAN HEERDEN PRIVATELY DESCRIBED AS THE CRUX OF SOUTH AFRICA'S DIFFICULTY WITH THE PROPOSAL: WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL MILITARY FORCES FROM NAMIBIA WITHIN ONE WEEK FOLLOWING CERTIFICATION OF ELECTION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. HE SAID THIS PRO-

VISION OF THE PROPOSAL HAS CAUSED HIM GREAT TROUBLE WITH
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SOUTH WEST AFRICANS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE DEMOCRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE (DTA) SIMPLY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS. HE THEN LAUNCHED INTO DESCRIPTION OF THE GROWING ENMITY BETWEEN HEREROS AND OVAMBOS, THE DANGER OF ASSASSINATION WHICH DTA LEADERS FACE, AND THE FEARS OF OVAMBOS WHO OPPOSE SWAPO THAT IN THE EVENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL, THEY COULD BE CONFRONTED WITH INVATION BY CUBAN AND SWAPO FORCES. WERE HE TO TELL NAMIBIANS HE WOULD HAVE TO RESPOND NEGATIVELY IF THE MAJORITY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, FREELY ELECTED BY THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, ASKED SOUTH AFRICA TO KEEP ITS TROOPS IN THE TERRITORY, " THE PROPOSAL WOULD BE SHOT DOWN".

4. OWEN SAID THE PROPOSAL DOES NOT PUT WITHDRAWAL AFTER CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTION IN A NEGATIVE WAY. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE PROPOSAL DOES NOT SAY THAT IF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY VOTED TO KEEP SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, THEY COULD NOT, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. REMAIN. HE SAID IF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY VOTED IN FAVOR OF RETAINING TROOPS IN NAMIBIA, "WE WOULD HAVE TO LOOK AT IT". VANCE SAID THAT IN THE EVENT OF SUCH A REQUEST BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, OBVIOUSLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL

WOULD HAVE TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT THE MATTER. BOTH A DISAGREED WITH OWEN'S EXPLANATION, SAYING THAT FROM THE WAY THE PROPOSAL IS WRITTEN, ONE COULD ONLY CONCLUDE THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS COULD NOT REMAIN. OWEN SAID HE DID NOT ACCEPT THAT ASSERTION AND MAINTAINED THAT THE PROPOSAL WAS A POLITICAL NOT A LEGAL DOCUMENT. BOTH A STATED THAT THE SAG PREFERRED THE LANGUAGE IN THE PROPOSAL AS IT WAS BEFORE DECEMBER 3. VANCE AND OWEN SAID THEY WOULD GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION TO THIS MATTER AND THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF THEY AND YOUNG DISCUSSED THIS LATER ALONE WITH BOTH A. OWEN REMINDED BOTH A THAT SECRETARY VANCE AND HE REPRESENTED ONLY TWO MEMBERS OF THE FIVE AND COULD NOT SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE THREE OTHERS.

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5. BOTH A SAID THAT IN DISCUSSIONS HE HAD HAD WITH GROUPS IN NAMIBIA, IT WAS POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT IN ONE PART OF THE PROPOSAL IT IS STATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD WORK TOGETHER, BUT THAT ELSEWHERE IN THE PROPOSAL THE IMPLICATION IS THAT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IS "THE TOP GUY". BOTH A SAID HE HAD TOLD THE DTA HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE TWO OFFICIALS MUST WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER IF THE AGREEMENT IS TO SUCCEED. VANCE, QUOTING FROM THE PROPOSALS, ASSURED BOTH A THAT HIS INTERPRETATION WAS CORRECT, THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD WORK TOGETHER. LATER IN THE DISCUSSION BOTH A SAID SOUTH AFRICA AND THE DTA REMAINED ABSOLUTELY OPPOSED TO THE CONCEPT OF UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL. HOWEVER, HE HAD EXPLAINED TO THE DTA THAT THIS HAD BEEN QUALIFIED IN THE PROPOSAL IN THAT THE TERM SUPERVISION AND CONTROL MEANT THAT THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE HAD TO BE SATISFIED. THE DTA HAD EXPRESSED FEAR THAT THIS COULD MEAN THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD HAVE CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY. HOWEVER, HE HAD TOLD THEM THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. FOURIE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WORDING WHICH STATES THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE SATISFIED WAS FORMULATED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE SAG'S PROBLEM WITH THE PHRASE "SUPERVISION AND CONTROL". OWEN SMILED AND SAID HE COULD NOT OBJECT TO THAT EXPLANATION. AMBASSADOR BOWDLER POINTED OUT THAT THE INCLUSION OF THE WORDS SUPERVISION AND CONTROL WAS IMPORTANT FOR OBTAINING UN APPROVAL.

6. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE SECURITY OF THE TERRITORY, BOTH A ASKED IF THE US AND UK WOULD BE WILL-
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ING TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE IF THE CUBANS

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN SALISBURY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

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INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SECTO 4091

EXDIS

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CROSSED THE NORTHERN BORDER. VANCE SAID THAT IF THE
PARTIES AGREED TO THE PROPOSAL, AND THE UN IMPLEMENTED
IT, HE FOUND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT EVEN THE CUBANS
WOULD MOVE INTO NAMIBIA AGAINST THE UN FORCE AND ALSO
THE SOUTH AFRICANS RESIDUAL MILITARY FORCE. AFTER
BOTH REITERATED THAT OVAMBOS WHO OPPOSE SWAPO FEAR
THE POSSIBILITY OF INTRUSIONS BY HOSTILE FORCES, OWEN
SAID FOR THIS VERY REASON WE NEED A "CREDIBLE, SIZEABLE
UN FORCE IN THE AREA." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT IN THE
UNLIKELY EVENT OF A CUBAN INVASION, THE UN WOULD
IMMEDIATELY BE CHALLENGED IN A WAY THAT THE WORLD
COULD NOT IGNORE. HE SAID IN A SITUATION OF THIS

KIND, IN WHICH BRITISH AND UN CREDIBILITY WOULD BE
CHALLENGED, AND IN WHICH THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL WOULD ASK
FOR HELP, BRITAIN, WHICH WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE NAMIBIA
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QUESTION, "WOULD KNOW HOW TO RESPOND." BOTHA PER-
SISTED THAT HE NEEDED TO BE ABLE TO GIVE SOME
ASSURANCES TO THE OVAMBOS (SPECIFICALLY OVAMBO TRA-
DITIONAL LEADER NJOBA). OWEN REPLIED THAT WE MIGHT
HAVE TO THINK OF GIVING THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE
AS
OPPOSED TO THE SAG, SOME KIND OF ASSURANCE. HE AND
SECRETARY VANCE NOTED THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE SECURITY
OF NAMIBIA, THE UK AND US HAVE AS VESTED AN INTEREST
AS DOES SOUTH AFRICA IN THE PRESENCE OF A STRONG UN
FORCE.

7. BOTHA STATED THAT UNLESS THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL
WAS CONSULTED AS TO WHICH COUNTRIES WOULD PROVIDE CON-
TINGENTS OF "MILITARY OBSERVERS," IT WOULD BE "EXTREMELY
TOUGHT" FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL. VANCE
RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION ABOUT THIS, INAS-
MUCH AS IT IS STANDARD PRACTICE FOR CONSULTATIONS TO
TAKE PLACE CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF ANY UN FORCE.

8. TURNING TO ANOTHER SUBJECT, BOTHA SAID THE REFERENCE
IN THE PROPOSAL TO "INSTALLATIONS" AT RUNDU, OSHAKATI,
AND OTHER BORDER LOCATIONS WAS INCORRECT. THESE
WERE TOWNS; THE INSTALLATIONS WERE ON THE OUTSKIRTS.
HE THEN ASKED WHY WE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE PRESENCE OF
NO MORE THAN A PLATOON OF TROOPS AT EACH OF THESE
INSTALLATIONS. OWEN ANSWERED, "PIK, YOU KNOW PERFECT-
LY WELL WHY". VANCE SAID THAT WE UNDERSTOOD THE
ANXIETY ABOUT THE SECURITY SITUATION, BUT THIS MERELY
UNDERSCORED THE NEED FOR A CREDIBLE UN FORCE. OWEN
SAID THAT PERHAPS SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BEGIN DEPLOYING
POLICE IN THE AREA, SO THAT THEY COULD BE PRESENT WHEN
THE MILITARY FORCES WERE WITHDRAWN.

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8. AMBASSADOR YOUNG OBSERVED THAT ANOTHER REASON FOR
A STRONG UN FORCE IN NAMIBIA IS THE LIKELIHOOD OF
"WRANGLING" WITHIN SWAPO. IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS ACTED
TO CONTROL ANY OUTBREAK OF INTRA-SWAPO STRIFE, THEY WOULD
BE CONDEMNED. THIS WOULD NOT BE THE CASE IF THE UN

FORCE, WHICH WOULD BE THERE TO OFFER PROTECTION FOR

ALL TO TAKE PART FREELY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS, DEALT WITH THE PROBLEM. BOTHA DID NOT DISAGREE BUT SAID SA "PUT IT TO THE PUBLIC THAT LAW AND ORDER IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND POLICE." FOURIE ADDED THAT A STRONG UN FORCE WOULD HAVE TO ACT ON THE BASIS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. VANCE AN OWEN REPEATED THAT THE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WAS A CRITICAL ELEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL.

9. BOTHA THEN BROUGHT UP WALVIS BAY. HE SAID SOUTH AFRICA HAD "MADE IT CLEAR THAT IF ANY CONCESSION WAS MADE TO SWAPO ON THIS, THE PROPOSAL IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE." OWEN NOTED THAT WALVIS BAY IS NOT MENTIONED IN THE PROPOSAL AND THAT WE BELIEVE THE ISSUE SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT AFTER INDEPENDENCE. BOTHA RESPONDED THAT HE COULD NOT BIND HIMSELF TO ANY STATEMENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD HAVE TO NEGOTIATE THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY. OWEN SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE; ALL WE WERE SAYING WAS THAT IT IS OUR POSITION THAT

WALVIS BAY IS A MATTER WHICH SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED.

10. BOTHA ASSERTED THAT THE WAY THE PROPOSAL IS PHRASED, THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL HAS NO SAY REGARDING THE RETURN OF NAMIBIANS WHO ARE HELD IN ZAMBIA AND CONFIDENTIAL

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TANZANIA. ONLY THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND THE JURIST APPOINTED BY HIM WOULD HAVE A ROLE IN DETERMINING WHO SHOULD BE RETURNED. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE FAMILIES OF THOSE NAMIBIANS WHO ARE DETAINED IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA BE PERMITTED TO SPEAK TO THEM TO ASCERTAIN THEY HAD NOT BEEN FORCED TO DECLINE TO RETURN TO NAMIBIA, AND TO TELL THEM WHAT THE REAL SITUATION IN NAMIBIA IS SO THAT THE DETAINEES WOULD HAVE A VALID BASIS ON WHICH TO MAKE THEIR DECISION. VANCE AND OWEN ASSURED HIM THAT THE PROPOSAL PLACED NO BAR AGAINST A PROCEDURE OF THIS SORT. ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE RED CROSS AND AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL COULD TAKE AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN NAMIBIAN DETAINEES. THEY SAID FURTHER THAT THE US AND UK ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. THEY ADDED THAT THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOT BE SELECTIVE REGARDING THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA AND THOSE IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA.

11. AT THIS POINT, THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED FOR DINNER,
FOLLOWING WHICH VANCE, OWEN AND YOUNG SENT SEPARATELY
WITH BOTHA.
VANCE

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O MS. KENNEDY.

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